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my notes. The photograph which forms the frontispiece to this volume was taken from it; the heads of the zinnias in my garden can be seen at the foot of the picture. The villagers were encouraged to make use of certain portions of this verandah. Men, women, and children freely availed themselves of this permission, enjoying the shade as they sat and worked, making string or nets, minding babies, playing at cat's-cradles, or chatting while they smoked or chewed betel. From such casual and unstudied contact I learned a great deal. Many evenings were spent in telling stories, when tellers and listeners would crowd round my big lamp, which gave them great pleasure.

I secured as my servant a young man named Ross, a native of Petats, who had worked for white people and knew what was required of him. He came with me to Kurtatchi, and soon made himself at home there, although at first he could not understand the local dialect. He served me faithfully and well. I could always leave my establishment safely in his charge, even for several days at a time, and count upon returning, after some strenuous expedition, to a clean house and a good meal. He was bitterly disappointed that he could not come home with me.

To enlist the interested co-operation of the natives, it was sufficient to tell them that my people, who lived very far away, had sent me to see what kind of folk they were, what they did, and what sort of things they could make, saying that this was my work, just as their work was fishing and gardening, and that my *tsunaun* (Chief) would be pleased if I could tell him all about them when I went home. This personal note particularly appealed to them, and they would sometimes say, in explaining something I had not properly understood: 'We do not want you to tell your *tsunaun* anything about us that is not true.' Note-book, typewriter, and camera were accepted without question as aids to my work, the two latter arousing great interest.

After I had been resident among them for a little while, they began to come and tell me when anything special was going to take place, in case I wished to be present. When a feast was held I was always invited, and they were delighted when, under the sponsorship of the women, I took part in their dances. During my morning stroll round the village I was sure to be asked to join in some one or other of the day's activities, an invitation which I frequently accepted, gaining thereby a practical acquaintance with their

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583 suppose they never did?' they seemed to think that in such a case the match would be declared off, but no one had ever heard of such a thing happening. As there is a considerable number of people who can be applied to for contributions, such a contingency, if it does occur, is probably rare.

When she has collected enough currency the boy's mother sends word to the girl's mother and fixes a time to go and pay it, some days ahead. A man goes to take this message; apparently any man who is willing to undertake the journey may do so. The girl's mother prepares a feast, which must include pig. If the girl is a commoner there need not be much pig-meat, but for a girl *tsunaun* many pigs must be provided.

[824] The boy's mother and her brother, and also the boy's father, count up the strings of *imun*, and rub the teeth with the cut stalks [531] of the plant *rurupari* to clean them. They rub fresh *oin* over the strings that hold the teeth together, and put the *imun* into a pot with more *oin*. When the cleaning is finished, the slit-gong is beaten as many times as there are strings of currency, both *imun* and *beroun*. This is done the day before the visit of payment is made.

583 The next day the boy's mother, accompanied by many of the people of her village, goes to the girl's village. They do not go ● 276 right up to it at first, but sit down beside the path near the village and wait. Meanwhile, the girl's mother skins a large quantity of areca-nuts and fills up a *kōbū* with them, she pours powdered lime over them and puts pepper-stick on top of them. Then she puts into the *kōbū* one string of *imun* and one string of *beroun*, which she must give to the boy's mother and mother's brother. This is said to be 'to pay for the boy'.

[602] Then those relatives of the girl who will henceforward stand to the man in the relation of *tauwō* (i.e. her brothers, both blood and classificatory), go and carry the *kōbū* full of areca-nuts to the people who are waiting on the road. All those who will henceforward be *waris* to the boy (his wife's parents, and all those to whom she applies the same relationship terms) remain in the hut belonging to the girl's mother; they all put on hoods—even the men must put on the women's hoods for a short time. They stay in the hut until the *tauwō* come back with the *kōbū*, from which the boy's relatives have taken out the *imun* and *beroun* and as many of the areca-nuts as they require. If there are a number in the party they may take them all.

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PLATE 6

583
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a. DISPLAYING CEREMONIAL CURRENCY FOR A BRIDE
b. NEARER VIEW OF THE CURRENCY DISPLAYED

[Facing p. 86]

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844 birth. After the child is born the coco-nut is thrown away into the bush.

844 A short time after the episode of the coco-nut, Bunamon, one of the older women present, said they must give her some medicine.
824 One of the women went out, and presently returned with some fresh leaves from the trees called *ramian* and *reyto*. These Bunamon rolled in her hand, and squeezed the sap into half a coco-nut shell, finally dropping the leaves in also. A little water was added, and the coco-nut shell was given to Manēv, who drank the liquid
[276] it contained. Bunamon then chewed portions of the roots of the same plants with the betel-mixture, but using the leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is more commonly used for chewing with areca-nut by these natives. She spat the resulting red saliva on to her hand and rubbed Manēv's abdomen with it, with a circular motion, all round the edge of the tumid belly. Then she rubbed some on her own big toe and applied the toe to Manev's vulva. Finally, she spat the solid remnant of the chewed mixture into the palm of her hand and put it into Manēv's mouth, telling her she must swallow it, which she did with evident effort.

844 Then another four or five hours passed, the women still holding Manēv as previously described. She appeared to be in great distress, and called out repeatedly: '*Atsat pio, atsat tagala!*' ('Woe is me', in the two dialects current in this village.) Once she called for her husband. No notice was taken by the women of any of her cries.

Once in a while the woman kneeling behind moved her clasping hands from the top of the protuberant abdomen to the bottom and shook it violently. This caused fresh cries and groans. Tears were streaming down Manēv's face, she begged continually to be let alone and to be allowed to lie down. Once they let her lie on the ground for a minute or two, and once they helped her to her feet, and she stood for a few seconds, supported by two women. But most of the time she sat on the log, with knees drawn up and pressed wide apart.

Towards morning they all came and sat in front of her, anxiously watching for the first sight of the child. As soon as the first glimmer of daylight appeared through the chinks in the walls of the hut, they put out the hurricane lantern I had brought with me, which up till then had faintly illumined the scene, so that when the top of the child's head at last appeared it was distinguished with diffi-

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CUSTOMS CONCERNING FOOD

843 262 During pregnancy a woman may not eat the megapode (*iowa*) nor the fish called *tur5*. Her husband should also observe this rule. No reason was given for this taboo. The woman must also abstain from a sea-creature called *awaian*, which is described as like a little snake, and living among the stones in the sea. This taboo would appear to have arisen for a reason like that which forbids a pregnant Trobriand woman to eat certain kinds of fish: 'Just as it is difficult to haul these fish out of their hiding-places, so the baby would not easily be brought forth.' (Malinowski, 1929, p. 193.) A pregnant 843 262 825 woman must on no account eat a certain frog called *toktok*, which frequents banana palms. It has unusually long legs, and it is thought that if she eats it her child will have legs of abnormal length.[1] Another kind of frog, *kakō*, which lives in pools in the bush, is specially recommended; if she eats it her child will be large and the period of pregnancy pass easily.

844 262 While labour is in progress the husband must abstain from food of any kind. The woman's mother, whether present at the confinement or not, must abstain from eating pig.

846 262 After the birth, for an indeterminate period ('while the baby is very small'), the parents may not eat pig, fish, opossum, shell-fish, or barringtonia fruit. Why the last-named should be included my informants did not know. The effect of the other prohibitions is to confine the parents to a vegetarian diet; this is thought to be of [276 824] advantage to the child. The mother is subjected to further restrictions. She must chew with her areca-nut only the leaf of the betel-pepper, not touching the catkin-like fruit, which is much preferred in the ordinary way. The reason given for this change is that the fruit is stronger than the leaf, and might harm the mother's milk. The nursing mother must also abstain from bananas and canarium almonds. While awaiting Manēv's confinement I was frequently given presents of both these things, which I shared with the expectant mother, to her great enjoyment, but her friend, Ema, who was constantly with us, would never accept any, saying that she was forbidden to eat them because she had a suckling child.

The mother's first meal after her confinement is the occasion of peculiar care. It consists of soup (*siro*), i.e. the water in which the

[1] Little girls are taught by their mothers to avoid this creature. Any unmarried person who eats it will not find favour with the opposite sex.

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PLATE 13

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b

a

METHODS OF CARRYING BABIES: *a* SLING, *b* ON HIP

[276]

[Facing p. 171]

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ing (Pl. 18*b*). Before a child who is *tumaun* can do this, a ceremony must be performed (this is described on pp. 189–93), but nothing of the sort is needed in the case of a commoner. 854

The women do all sorts of hard work with their babies on their backs. I have seen them chopping wood with a child of apparently less than a year clinging pick-a-back fashion without being held. A mother who takes a very young child out on to the reef in the heat of the day, will generally keep its head carefully covered by her hood.

CHILDREN'S DIET

A child will be given taro, which has first been chewed to a pulp, on the very day of its birth. The quantity is soon increased. A woman will place a row of little heaps of this chewed pulp all along her thigh, as she sits on the ground, each of these forming a mouthful for the baby on her lap. Food thus prepared is called *mimi*, a word with which the baby soon becomes familiar, and one of the first he learns to say. Coco-nut, chewed in the same way, is added at an early age, but a child is not allowed to munch taro or coco-nut for itself until it can run about. 853 262

Until the child is about a year old he must not eat bananas, lest he should be afflicted with a disease of the chest called *bira*. A child that has yaws must not be given pig or fish, and must not take its food in any house except that of its parents. It must on no account eat in the presence of a woman who is pregnant, and it must not be given taro from a house in which a man and a woman have recently indulged in sexual intercourse. Since yaws is very contagious, some of these prohibitions have a practical bearing, but in the minds of the natives the harm that would follow the breaking of them is supposed to fall upon the child and not on the persons it must avoid. [753]

Babies of a few months old are given the husks of areca-nuts to suck. Children of five or six chew the nut itself freely, and also smoke both cigarettes and pipes. [276]

As soon as the household gets going in the morning, the children are given lumps of taro cooked the night before; these they usually eat cold. They chew coco-nuts at all times of the day, and drink the contents of the green nut when they are thirsty. They share the main meal of the day, usually taken at sundown, with the other members of the family. 262 272 264

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882 262 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutʃ*. But considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject, and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers, and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 264 177 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is no longer observed.

882 276 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under ordinary circumstances.

III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

882 302 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*, except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

593 302 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hair-dressing is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 824 789 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of which the following is a typical example:

Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyowan* (unidentified). Chew the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew, the longer your hair will be.

882 302 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies, when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

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881 children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from [276] smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is [272] looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the 824] leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two [302] companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

[533] /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. ///, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

881 Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example, 574 for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

881 Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of 824 nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called *pias a mon* (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

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PLATE 37

415
482
27

b. GAUA SMOKES A PIPE
(She is carrying bread-fruit in a coco-nut-leaf basket.)

415
482

a. SEA WATER IN BAMBOOS
(Beach at Tiop.)

[Facing p. 289]

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individual needs, half a coco-nut shell makes an excellent cup or bowl, leaves may be used as plates, and a shell (usually a species of cyrena, Pl. 38, no. 6) serves many of the purposes for which we use a spoon. These, with the women's knife made of black-lip oyster-shell and the large trade knives which are now universal, constitute the chief utensils employed in preparing and eating meals. Fingers and teeth are the aids to feeding most in evidence.

When ready to serve, the pot with its contents is placed on the verandah, or on the ground, where every one can reach to put his hand in and pick out a chunk of taro or a handful of tiny shell-fish. These people will put their hands into water that is only just off the boil, and take out a taro so hot that when they passed me my share I invariably dropped it, till I learned to wrap a leaf round my hand before accepting it. Similarly they will plunge a hand into a potful of shell-fish immediately it has been taken off the fire. Fish that has been cooked in leaves will be laid out on the verandah, still resting on its leaf-covering; if the fish are small each person will take one or more, according to the quantity available, if large, pieces will be torn off with the fingers. Sometimes a number of cooked taro or the portions of a disjointed opossum will be passed round in a coco-nut-leaf basket. If you have taken more than you want you pass the remainder of the taro or the half-picked bone to some one else, probably one of the children, with the remark '*Komanū a libul*', 'My belly is full'. I never saw any one put partly eaten food back into the pot. There are always plenty of dogs and pigs in attendance, who see to it that no fragments are left on the ground when the meal is over. The pigs are specially fed with the taro peelings and any other bits accruing from the preparation of the meal, being called up by name by the housewife for this purpose. The dogs fare more meagrely, being purposely kept on short rations in order that they may be fierce in hunting.

SMOKING

Smoking is universally indulged in, even by quite small children. Apart from the merest babies I do not remember meeting any one who did not smoke. It is a common sight to see a little girl of perhaps five or six strutting about with a pipe in her mouth, which may or may not be alight (Pl. 37*b*).

Tobacco is grown in small quantities and cured by being hung in bundles in the sun, but everybody much prefers the variety to

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be obtained from white men, which is a kind of plug twist, mixed with molasses, and made up into sticks about 6 inches long. The same word (*wuruts*) is used for both native and trade tobacco. Portions of stick-tobacco are twisted off and crumbled, and are smoked either in pipes or in the form of cigarettes, made of any kind of paper that happens to be available. The newspapers sent to me from home were in great demand for this purpose. I once gave a man a half-sheet of the *Observer*, and was amused to see him roll it obliquely into a cigarette of enormous length, which he smoked with great satisfaction, to the envy of the onlookers, and somehow succeeded in keeping alight. The height of smoking luxury, however, consists in a tin of Capstan and a packet of cigarette papers. When they have no tobacco they will pick up a piece of smouldering wood from a fire, crush it into their pipes, and smoke it with apparent content. They like to mix with their tobacco a resinous gum (*tagon*) collected from the trunk of the canarium almond.

Pipes are made in certain villages where a suitable supply of clay can be obtained. One man on Petats was considered especially skilful. He got his clay from the neighbourhood of a river on the island of Buka. It appears to be similar to that used for pottery-making on the opposite side of the island. The work is usually done inside the hut, so that the clay will not dry too quickly. The bowl is shaped in the finger, and the stems are moulded round a thin cane which is then pulled out. The pipes are baked by being laid in the embers of an ordinary house fire. They are also made in some of the villages on Bougainville, especially in the Kunua district, but not in any of those on the north coast, the people of which obtain them by barter. In the Kunua villages I saw some with patterns incised on the bowls, but as a rule those in common use have plain bowls, with slight differences of shape in the projecting piece at the bottom. The length of the stems varies a little, but is generally not more than 3 or 4 inches.

CHEWING THE BETEL-MIXTURE

Just as universal as the habit of smoking is that of areca-nut chewing (*gas*), which begins perhaps even earlier, since babies a few months old are given the husks of the areca-nut to suck. I have seen a man spit his mouthful into the hand of a child aged perhaps six, who chewed it for a while and then transferred it to

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276 a still younger child who also chewed it. The practice is usually referred to as 'betel-nut chewing', but, as has been pointed out by Ivens (1927, p. 285), this is actually a transference of the name of the condiment chewed with the nut to the nut itself, which is the seed of the areca-palm (*Areca catechu* and allied species). As usual throughout the Melanesian area, the areca-nut (*bok*) is always used in conjunction with betel-pepper (*ta-nek*) and lime (*iav*), a combination referred to by Rivers in *Melanesian Society* as 'the betel-mixture', a practice which I have followed in this book. The procedure is somewhat different from that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons. It is frequently eaten after a meal, but also at any and every opportunity as desired, much as we smoke cigarettes. The catkin-like fruit, described by Guppy (p. 95) as 'the female spike', of the betel-pepper (*ta-sian*) is much more highly relished [853] than the leaf, which is eaten only when the fruit is scarce, or by those to whom the fruit is taboo, as in the case of a mother with a suckling child. The lime is carried in a specially cleaned-out [415 531] shell of a young coco-nut (also called *iav*), which is often ornamented with an elaborate incised pattern (*iav a gōm*) emphasized by having lime rubbed over the lines (Pl. 72). The north coast [439] people do not now make these carved specimens, but obtain them by barter from the mountain people. Often, however, they are 'too lazy' to make even a plain one by cleaning a coco-nut, and are content to keep their lime in empty cigarette tins or tobacco tins. No spatula is used, the nut being dipped straight into the lime-pot. I saw no mortars for use by old people, who, if they cannot open the nuts with their hardened gums, will get one of the youngsters to do it for them.

245 222 Areca-palms (*boi*) are cultivated, and are regarded as valuable property. There is also a kind of wild palm producing small nuts, which are also eaten, but only if the others are not available.

The betel-pepper (*Piper betel*) is cultivated. There are also wild varieties, of which I know three kinds; they have much smaller leaves and are less in favour. One, called *tʃultʃun*, is chewed especially by old women. All these varieties are parasitic on large trees. If a large quantity is required the stem will be severed near the ground and the whole plant pulled off the tree, but as a rule the fruit and leaves are carefully picked one by one so as not to injure the growing plant.

000 Lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred. Its

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lime is made from coral; branched coral being preferred

preparation is the work of the women, and consists of burning the coral with a minimum of slaking. The work is carried on in the recesses of the bush, the place being kept secret and no men permitted to approach it. Large quantities are prepared at a time, at infrequent intervals.

Areca-nut and betel-pepper must be provided in abundance on every ceremonial occasion, and are always given to visitors from other villages to take home with them on their return. Each individual carries his own supply of lime, or begs a dip from his neighbour; it is not provided with the other ingredients. When in his own village the chewer of the betel-mixture will freely fling the skins about on the ground, to be swept up by the women in the course of their cleaning. They are thrown away in any convenient spot, in the case of villages on the cliff top generally over the cliff, or they may be burnt. There does not appear to be any special place for disposing of them, as is described by Ivens (1927, p. 287) for the SE. Solomons. But when on a visit to another village, particularly to one in the mountains, where there is always a feeling that the people are not to be trusted, the skins are carefully put into the little basket which everybody carries, and brought away, lest an enemy should use them for making 'bad medicine'.

Branches of areca-nuts are carried by the messengers sent out by the *tsunaun* to summon people to a ceremony. (Cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 288.)

The natives say that chewing the betel-mixture 'makes them feel strong'. I can testify that when they have plenty to chew they are livelier and more inclined to talk. It is known to them that people who chew too much of it are apt to fall into a slightly dazed and stupid condition, and there are a very few who do not like the effect it has upon them and therefore avoid it. The majority, however, obviously feel lost without it, like an inveterate smoker left without tobacco.

STORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS FOODSTUFFS

Among my collection of stories there is a large number explaining how the people came to be possessed of, or to learn to use, certain of their foodstuffs. Many of these turn on the activities of the famous 'two brothers', and are connected with a widespread series extending over a large part of the Pacific (see references in my paper on Folk-tales, 1932, p. 74). As the stories are in most cases

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Discovery of betel-pepper

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A man once went into the bush to hunt pig, and his dogs caught one. But in running with them he lost his basket containing his knife and the piece of rope he had brought to tie up the pig. He sat down at the foot of a tree up which a betel-pepper plant was growing, and bit its stem through with his teeth, thinking to use it as a rope. By chance he had some areca-nut and lime in his mouth at the time, and he was astonished to see that his spittle was red. At first he thought his mouth was bleeding, but by further experiment he found that the colour was due to the stem of the betel-pepper mixing with the areca-nut and lime in his mouth. He found also that it made the mixture taste much better, taking off the biting sharpness. But the stem was rather tough, so he looked up and saw the fruit of the betel-pepper. He tried that, and found that it had the same effect, but was much more pleasant to eat. So he went home and told all the people what he had discovered, and they all tried it and found it very good. Since then every one has chewed the fruit of the betel-pepper with their areca-nut and lime.[1]

[1] A precisely similar story is current among the Orokaiva, cf. Williams, 1928, p. 123.

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During this performance the medicine man is chanting incantations to the spirits, the names of whom are: Timas, Nahu, Pineri, Sam, and Tolalu. He cries in a sing-song voice: 'Oh, Spirits! Come and help me bring the *atūn* to our fishing-grounds. Bring them from Petats and from Nissan, from Sēlō and New Ireland. Let them come here, and when they come may their eyes be opened so that they may see the hooks on the end of the lines, and may their mouths hold fast the lines.'

Then the medicine man and his assistant begin the work of scraping the inner bark of the trees and preparing the herbs for the pot. The scraping is done on a fallen tree-trunk. When the mixture has been prepared, then the other men of the village are called and assemble about the place where the preparations have been carried out. The mixture is already carefully tied up in the little leaf packages and counted by the medicine man. Each man requests that he should be given his package. But the medicine man refuses, saying that in due time when the *atūn* are near, then will they each receive their packages. The men then scrape together with their fingers any remnants of the herbs that may be left on the fallen tree-trunk and lick their fingers clean with their tongues, and smear the red mixture on their faces and their foreheads.

Young drinking coco-nuts and cooked taro are then brought from the village and a small feast is held. The medicine man, however, is not allowed to partake of any food. From the commencement of operations he is forced to fast, chewing only betel-nut and pepper-stick and drinking young coco-nuts. During this time, also, he must not visit the village nor have any intercourse with his wife. He is allowed to smoke, but is not allowed to sleep.

After the feast the medicine man takes a small piece of the tree-trunk upon which the herbs have been mixed and eats it, then, spitting into his hands, he walks into the sea, dips his hands into the water, and, rising to his full height, sings out: 'The *atūn* from Petats and from Lontis and from Nissan shall come here to-morrow. When I arise in the morning the sea shall be white with their splashings.' As he calls out the names of the several places from which the *atūn* shall come, he faces in their direction. Returning to the beach he seats himself amongst the other men, and tells them they must also call out for the *atūn* to come. The men follow his instructions and call out in a similar manner.

While the men are calling, one man, usually the assistant, climbs

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 52

396
531
342
276
352

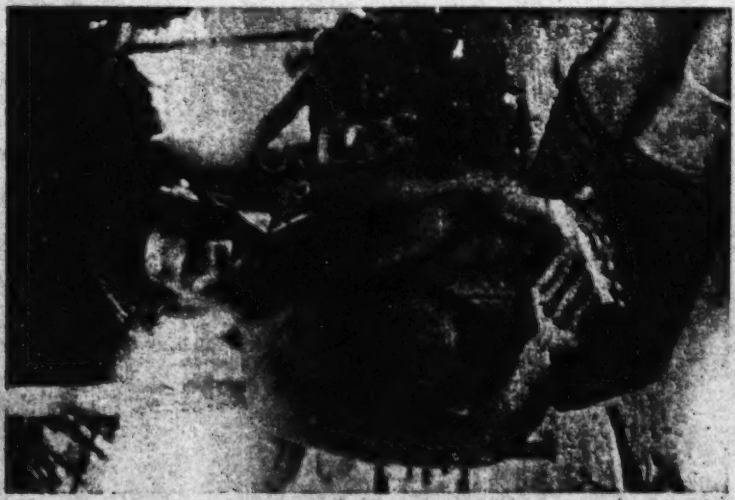
CARVING *WATSINAN*

[facing p. 378]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 58

b. PUTTING ON A COIL



a. MAKING THE BASE

POTTERY

323
516
276

[facing P. 396]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 70

304

b. BACK (*TSUNAUN*): *LALÒM* PATTERN

CICATRIZATION

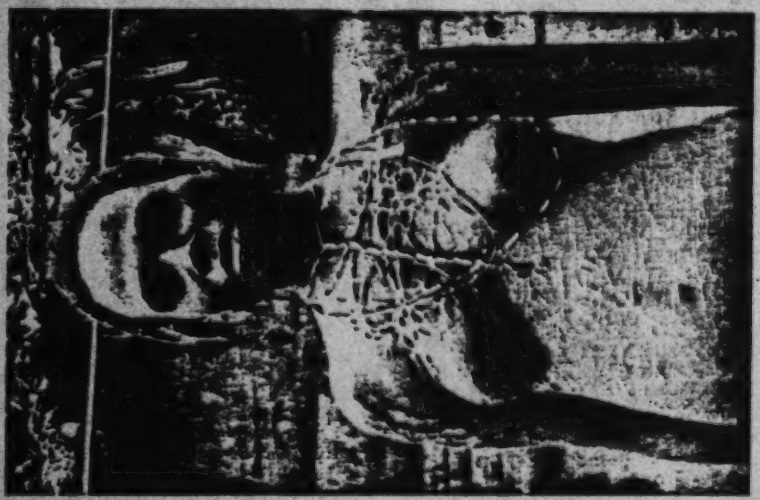
a. BODY OF WOMAN (*TSUNAUN*)

[276]

[facing P. 431]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 71



301
304

CICATRIZATION BADLY HEALED

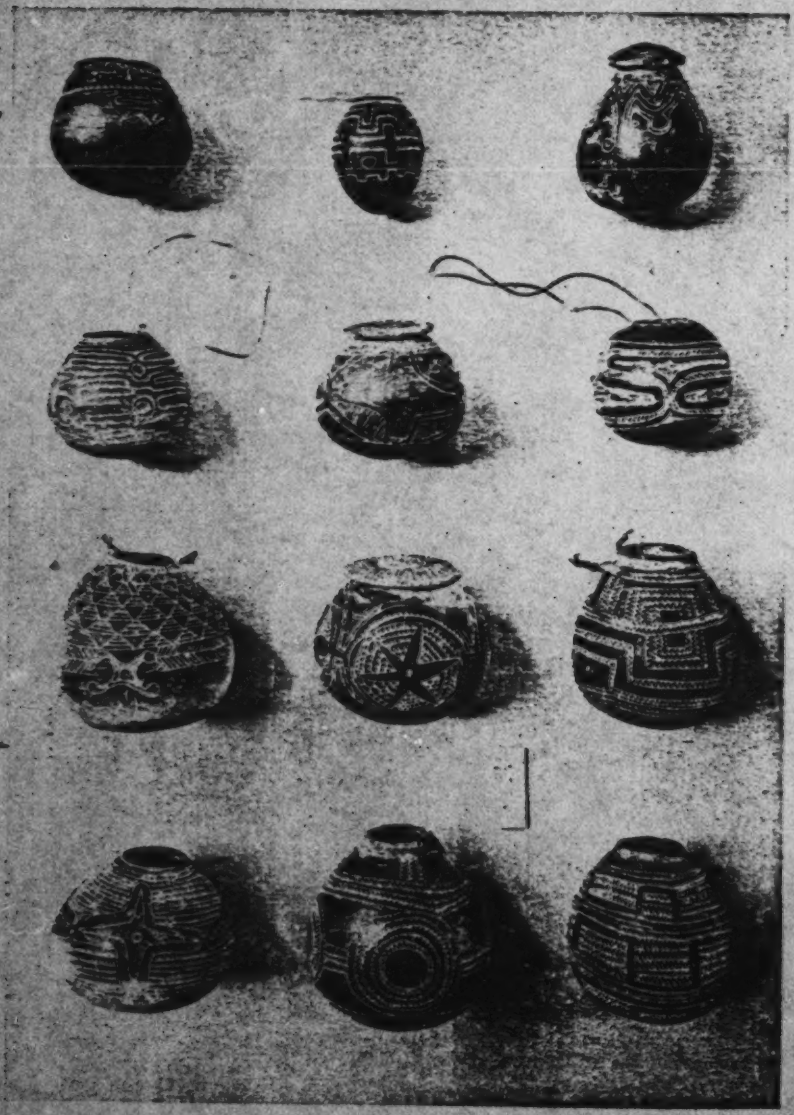
[853]
[276]

[facing p. 432]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 72

531
415
276



LIME-POTS [facing p. 433]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

valued that their owners usually refused to part with them at any price. The human figures are also represented in the upright position. Very few lime-pots are carved at the present day; the men say they are too lazy. They either use the coco-nuts without carving, or substitute cigarette or tobacco tins.

The bowls of pipes are sometimes similarly carved, but most pipes have plain bowls. The patterns are often cut for amusement on the rind of fruits, such as the mango, or the soft outer sheath of the canarium almond at certain stages of growth. Some of the traditional patterns are used for many different purposes, e.g. on the sides of plank canoes (*mon*), on paddles, on the *upi* used at the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and on the outside of *mabu* and sometimes of slit-gongs. Those which were carved on the *mabu* made for me (Fig. 25) were explained thus:

the two human figures, *kokorra*, 'two little men';
the ornament on the head of one of these, *ku a poits*, the two claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances;
lower half of pattern between the *kokorra*, the lower part of *ku a poits*;
upper half, *bēbē*, name of pattern often put on paddles;
pattern running round the instrument below the figures, *pakatʃan*, name of pattern used on *mon* and on paddles;
lines running round the bottom of the instrument, *pisosku*, name of pattern, frequent on *upi*.

A variety of patterns is seen on the *watsinan* of the plank canoe (*mon*), some of which are shown in Fig. 26. For the most part they appear to be chosen at the whim of the carver from a number of generally known conventional designs. Some have a meaning, others are said to be 'just marks'. The most interesting and most important are the highly conventionalized representations of the human form found on the larger canoes. These are survivals from the time when such canoes were used in warfare, and even now the pattern has retained a certain significance. A special feast of ceremonial pudding must be held when the *watsinan* is carved. In the olden days no woman might travel in a *mon* thus decorated, but this custom is now breaking down. It may not be sold to a white man. It is still reserved for important journeys, not being used for bonito fishing or 'for play'. A *mon* thus decorated

banana leaves into which they put the half-finished pot while the upper sides are being formed. When the pot is the right shape, then here and there--wherever the side walls seem to the maker to be too thin--little clay patches are added for strengthening. After the edge as well as the outside and the inside have been made as smooth as possible with dampened hands, a decoration in the shape of zigzag lines is frequently scratched on the edge. The manufacture of a middle-sized pot takes about an hour. The completed articles are dried for several days in the shade and then baked. This last procedure is very simple. Several pots are placed beside one another, and dry twigs and little pieces of wood are built up around them; then these are ignited and, for a certain time, new fuel is added; after about 8 hours the pot has been sufficiently baked and is ready for use. Pots of the most varied dimensions are to be found--between 15 and 30 centimeters in diameter, but rarely more. The form of the pots differs in the north and in the south of the region under consideration. In Buka and north Bougainville the form is conical, the sides are slightly rounded and the rim is not bent outwards. In Shortland and south Bougainville the shape is almost spherical and the opening is narrow with a rim that is flared out. [171]

After acquaintance with the Europeans and the introduction of smoking tobacco the islanders successfully undertook the manufacture of pipes. Fifteen years ago you could frequently buy pipes there that were made of two pieces. The clay bowl had only a very short shaft, which was inserted into a thin stem, and the point of connection wrapped with bast fibers; today they have already made a certain sort of progress by preparing the bowl and the shaft out of a single piece and often decorate the bowl with engraved ornaments. The local product is now preferred to the European almost everywhere.

It is surprising that no one has come up with the idea of making clay drinking vessels or water containers. Coconut shells are used exclusively for these purposes. In the north they are superficially scraped on the outside with a stone; but in the south great care is often applied to their preparation. [324] In Shortland I have seen specimens that were provided with a coating made from the pulverized fruit of Parinarium laurinum; into this shell [23] disks and beads were pressed and delicate ornaments were formed by this means. They had two shapes: the one was spherical and called fasi, and the other had a short neck, which was likewise decorated like the above container, and called kungkuku. Now these containers are becoming rather